

File No. 6/5/9/77-ef

RECORDED

Admission Ticket

C.No-34300

Administration

Commission of Inquiry

Motion in the Lok Sabha

by Shri. Sahas for a fresh

Inquiry in connection with the

of late Subhas Chandra Bose

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File No. 6/5/9/722

CABINET SECRETARIAT

Subject : Motion in the Lok Sabha by Shri Samar Guha for a fresh inquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

S.No.1 (R) - MHA U.O.No.1/12014/9/77-D.III (S&P)  
pp.1-4/cor. dated 17-11-1977.

Forty five copies of the Note on the above subject have been received from the Ministry of Home Affairs for the consideration of the Cabinet. The Note seems to be in order from the procedural angle and if approved may be included in the agenda of the Cabinet meeting to be held on 21.11.77. The Note has been seen and approved by the Home Minister. This subject was earlier considered by the Cabinet at its meeting held on 29 August, 1974 vide minutes page 12/cor in File No. 6/1/6/74-CF. (Home Minister will be in town on 21.11.77).

\*Flag "A"

Intimation to  
Secy.M/o. Home  
Affairs.

Batta  
18.11.77

1. Intimation may be sent to Home Secy only
2. This may be included in the agenda of the Cabinet to be held on 21.11.77

1229-VS(c)  
18.11.77

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A. P. P. P.  
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JS(c) H. P. P.  
18.11.77

S. no. 2(1)

Mp. 46-49/cor.

Memo. no. 56/CN/77 dt. 18.11.77  
to all Members 2 Hs. Cabinet

S. no. 3(1)

Mp. 50-55/cor.

Memo. no. 56/CN/77 dt. 18.11.77  
to all Members 7 Hs. Cabinet



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copy five copies of the note on the above subject have been received from the Ministry of Home Affairs for the consideration of the Cabinet. It appears to be in order from the Government and it is approved to be included in the agenda of the Cabinet meeting to be held on 21.1.78. The note has been seen and approved by the Home Minister. This subject is further considered by the Cabinet at its meeting held on 23 August, 1977. vide minutes page 10. For the Home Minister will be in town on 21.1.78.

Minister to  
Home Affairs  
on 21.1.78.

CORRESPONDENCE



S.No.1

SECRET

MOST IMMEDIATE

Ministry of Home Affairs  
I.S. Division  
Desk III

..

Subject:- Motion in the Lok Sabha by Shri Samar Guha  
for a fresh inquiry into the disappearance  
of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

45 copies of Note for the Cabinet (in  
English and in Hindi) are sent herewith for  
submission to the Cabinet.

8351  
18-11-77

*[Signature]*  
17/11/77

(N.K. Sinha)  
Deputy Secretary

Recd on 17/25/11/77

Cabinet Sectt. (Shri K. Ramiah, Under Secretary, M.H.A.)  
MHA U.O. No.I/13014/9/77-D.III(S&P) dated 17-11-1977

by  
17/11  
notes  
17/11



9-748/77

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SECRET

MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS  
(GRH MANTRALAYA)

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NOTE FOR THE CABINET

Subject:- MOTION IN THE LOK SABHA BY SHRI SAMAR GUHA FOR A FRESH INQUIRY INTO THE DISAPPEARANCE OF NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE.

1. In April, 1956, the Government of India, in response to public demand, appointed an Inquiry Committee consisting of Sarvashri Shah Nawaz Khan, Suresh Chandra Bose (elder brother of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose) and S.N. Maitra, formerly Chief Commissioner of Andaman and Nicobar, to ascertain the circumstances concerning Netaji's alleged death in an air-crash. Two members of the Committee, namely, Sarvashri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra, came to the conclusion that Netaji met his death in an air-crash at Taihoku (Formosa) on the 18th August, 1945. Shri Suresh Chandra Bose disagreed with these findings and submitted a dissenting report. The majority report was accepted by the Government.

2. The controversy over the disappearance of Netaji was, however, not resolved and demands continued to be made for undertaking another inquiry into the matter. Rumours about Netaji's survival and his subsequent appearance elsewhere cropped up repeatedly. In response to a demand for a fresh inquiry by a number of Members of Parliament belonging to different political parties the Government decided to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to go into the entire matter in July, 1970. Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, was appointed as a one man Commission to "inquire into all the facts and circumstances relating to the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1945 and the subsequent developments connected therewith and make a report to the Central Government". The Commission visited Japan, Burma, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, South Vietnam and Formosa (Taiwan) and examined 224 witnesses including 100 who were examined abroad. A large number of files and documents were produced and cited in evidence. The Commission submitted its report on the 30th June, 1974. The Commission arrived at the same conclusion that was reached by the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee in 1956 that Netaji died in an air-crash at Taihoku on the 18th August, 1945.

3. The Cabinet considered the report of the Commission on the 29th August, 1974. A copy of the



note placed before the Cabinet is at Annexure I. The Cabinet accepted the finding that Netaji had died in an air-crash on the 18th August, 1945 at Tainoku in Taiwan. The report of the Commission alongwith the memorandum of action taken thereon was laid on the Tables of both the Houses of Parliament on 3rd September, 1974.

4. Shri Samar Guha moved the following motion in the Lok Sabha on the 3rd August, 1977:-

"This House having considered the Report (1974) of the Commission of Inquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, laid on the Table of the House on the 3rd September, 1974, urges the Government to set up a three-man Commission for conducting a fresh inquiry into the mystery of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, with power to -

- (a) make additional investigations, where necessary, into the circumstances leading to disappearance of Netaji since August 18, 1945;
- (b) record fresh oral evidence of exceptional importance;
- (c) scrutinise the secret official documents in possession of the Government of India, which have not been made available to the earlier probing bodies;
- (d) examine external documents, connected with Netaji's disappearance, which should be obtained from the proper quarters and the Governments of Japan, Taiwan, United Kingdom, U.S.A., China and Russia; and
- (e) re-assess all documentary and oral evidence adduced before the Shah Nawaz Committee and the Khosla Commission".

The discussion on the motion was inconclusive. Shri Samar Guha was the principal speaker, while Shri Sasankasekhar Sanyal spoke briefly towards the end. The motion is likely to come up again in the ensuing Session of the Lok Sabha when the Home Minister will be expected to explain the Government's stand on the Motion.

5. In his speech in the Lok Sabha on August 3, 1977 Shri Samar Guha has dealt at length with the mystery surrounding the disappearance of



Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose which, according to him, still remains to be satisfactorily explained. The points raised by him have been fully examined in the Home Ministry vis-a-vis the findings of the Khosla Commission in the note attached as Annexure II. It will be seen that practically all the points mentioned by Shri Samar Guha have been fully looked into by the Khosla Commission and no fresh grounds relating to these have been advanced to require further investigation. The only new information brought out by Shri Samar Guha relates to some documents included in "The Transfer of Power 1942-47", Volume VI published by the British Government recently. These documents give an impression that for some months after the Japanese announced the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in an air crash on August 18, 1945, the British Government were still discussing ways of dealing with him. The documents relied upon are: (i) a letter dated 23rd August, 1945 from Sir F. Mudie, Home Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to Sir E. Jenkins, Private Secretary to Viceroy, which examines the various options before the Government for dealing with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose; (ii) Minutes of the meeting of the Indo-Burma Committee of the British Cabinet held on 25th October, 1945 in which, while discussing the treatment of Indian and Burmese collaborators with the enemy, it was generally agreed that the only civilian renegade of importance was Subhas Chandra Bose.

/the

6. The news of Netaji's death in an air crash on the Taihoku air-field in Taiwan on 18th August, 1945 was broadcast by Demei News Agency from Tokyo on the 23rd August, 1945. Sir F. Mudie's letter to the PS to the Viceroy, which enclosed a note prepared after discussion amongst British officers, was of the same date. It is reasonable to assume that in point of time the news of Netaji's death may not have been known in India at the time of despatch of this letter. As regards the minutes of the Indo-Burma Committee of the British Cabinet held on 25.10.1945 the memorandum dated 24.10.45 from the Secretary of State for India (Lord Pethick Lawrence) for consideration by the Indo-Burma Committee refers to Bose in the following words:-

"Apart from Subhas Bose, if he is alive, few of those on the list are at present well known in India".

One cannot infer from this that the British Government had information that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was not involved in the air crash and had escaped. It is but natural that the British Government did not readily believe the Japanese report of Netaji's death as many people in India including Mahatma Gandhi did not

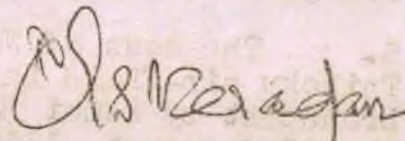


believe it at first. The British Government suspected that the news of the death in an air crash could be an alibi to enable Netaji to escape, till investigations carried out by their own agencies confirmed the Japanese version towards the close of the year 1945.

7. The issue of Netaji's death is surcharged with emotions. We have already had two enquiries on the subject. Irrespective of any conclusion that may be arrived at by a fresh inquiry, Shri Samar Guha and others of his conviction will continue to believe that Netaji did not die in an air crash in 1945. Even a fresh inquiry is unlikely to set at rest the controversy for all times to come, or at this distance of time, to be more illuminating than the earlier ones. The Ministry of Home Affairs are, therefore, of the view that no useful purpose would be served by holding another inquiry. It is, therefore, suggested that the demand for a fresh inquiry made in the Motion moved by Shri Samar Guha may not be accepted.

8. Approval of the Cabinet is solicited for the proposal contained in para 7.

9. The Home Minister has seen and approved this note.



(T.C.A. SRINIVASAVARADAN)  
HOME SECRETARY

I/12014/9/77-D.III(S&P)

NEW DELHI

The 17th November, 1977.



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SECRET

ANNEXURE I

NOTE FOR THE CABINET

Subject:- The report of the one-man Commission of Inquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

In April, 1956, the Government of India, in response to public demand, appointed an Inquiry Committee consisting of Sarvashri Shah Nawaz Khan, Suresh Chandra Bose (elder brother of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose) and S.N. Maitra, formerly Chief Commissioner of Andaman and Nicobar, to ascertain the circumstances concerning Netaji's alleged death in an air-crash. Two members of the Committee, namely, Sarvashri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra, came to the conclusion that Netaji met his death in an aircrash at Taihoku (Formosa) on the 18th August, 1945. Shri Suresh Chandra Bose disagreed with these findings and submitted a dissentient report. The majority report was accepted by the Government. The controversy over the disappearance of Netaji was, however, not resolved and demands continued to be made for undertaking another inquiry into the matter. Rumours about Netaji's survival and his subsequent appearance elsewhere cropped up repeatedly. In response to a demand for a fresh inquiry by a number of Members of Parliament belonging to different political parties the Government decided to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to go into the entire matter in July 1970, Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, was appointed as a one man Commission to "inquire into all the facts and circumstances relating to the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1945 and the subsequent developments connected therewith and make its report to the Central Government". A copy of notification No. 25/14/70-Poll.II dated the 11th July, 1970 is placed at Annexure I. The Commission visited Japan, Burma, Thailand, Singapore, Malayasia, South Vietnam and Formosa (Taiwan) and on the whole examined 224 witnesses including 100 who were examined abroad. A large number of files and documents were produced and cited in evidence. The Commission submitted its report on the 30th June, 1974.

2. The main conclusions reached by the Commission in its Inquiry are, in brief, as follows:

3. On the morning of 16.8.1945, Netaji left Singapore accompanied by a few colleagues and others and arrived at Bangkok at 3.30 P.M. and spent the night there. At about 8.00 A.M. on 17.8.1945, Netaji and party left by two planes and reached Saigon at 11.00 A.M. The Commission examined, among others, 8 witnesses



who accompanied Netaji in his journey up to Saigon. These included (1) Hachia who was deputed by the Japanese Government to assist Netaji as Minister of the provisional Government of free India. He remained with Netaji till August 17, 1945, (2) Nigeshi, another official of the Japanese Government who delivered the letter containing the terms of surrender to Netaji at Saramban, accompanied him to Singapore and remained with him till the morning of August 17, 1945, and (3) Gen. Ioda, who was the Chief of the Hikari Kikan, liaison agency of the Japanese Government with the Azad Hind Government. He joined Netaji at Singapore and went with him upto Saigon. The others were Sarvashri S.A. Iyer, Gulzara Singh and Abid Hasan who were members in Netaji's provisional Government besides Debnath Das and Col. Pritam Singh who were close confidants of Netaji. There were some difficulties in making transport arrangements for Netaji and his party beyond Saigon. Only two seats were finally offered to him in a Japanese bomber which had come from Manila and was going to Dairen in Manchuria. After some discussion, Netaji decided to avail himself of the two seats and left Saigon by the bomber plane at approximately 5.00 P.M. on 17.8.1945, along with his associate Habibur Rehman. The plane arrived at Tourain at 7.45 P.M. and the party spent the night there. Next day, the bomber left Tourain and arrived at Taipei in Formosa at 2.00 P.M. At Taipei, the pilot attended to a snag in one of the engines which he declared had been corrected after a short while. The passengers accordingly explained and the pilot took off at 2.35 P.M. Within a few seconds, one of the engines flew out and the plane crashed near the fringe of the Taihoku airfield. The body of the plane broke into two parts and caught fire. Netaji had sustained burn injuries of the third degree in the air crash. He was rushed, along with other injured persons, to the Military Hospital where, despite the efforts of the doctors to revive him, he succumbed to the injuries the same night. The Commission examined, among others, 4 witnesses who claimed to have travelled in the ill-fated bomber plane with Netaji on 18.8.1945, including the navigator of the plane. The testimony of these 4 eye-witnesses was corroborated by 11 other witnesses before the Commission. Among the corroborating witnesses was Dr. Yashimi who was acting as the Chief of the Branch Hospital at the Taihoku Army Hospital, who claimed to have been present when Netaji died and to have signed his death certificate. The Commission has concluded that the numerous stories about the meetings of other persons with Netaji at various places and times after 1945 are completely false and unacceptable.



4. The Commission has thus arrived at the same conclusion that was reached by the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee in 1956 that Netaji died in an air-crash at Taihoku on the 18th August, 1945. The Commission has summarised its findings in Chapter IX of the report.

5. In paras 3.19 to 3.21 in Chapter III, the Commission has referred to two factors among the several causes that contributed to delay in the completion of inquiry. One relates to the delay in the appointment of a Government counsel to conduct the proceedings and render legal assistance to the Commission. The connected facts briefly are that the request for the appointment of a counsel to assist the Commission was received in October, 1970. The appointment of Shri Gopi Nath Dikshit was first considered and finalised and then it transpired that he had appeared before the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee also. Some other names were then considered but could not be finalised because one counsel was not willing to accompany the Commission to Japan and another counsel declined to accept the appointment after the appointment order was issued. Finally, the Ministry of Law suggested the name of Shri T.R. Bhasin and he was appointed with effect from the 28th March, 1972.

6. The second factor mentioned by the Commission relates to the delay in arrangements for its visit to Taiwan. There was some delay in processing this matter because it involved the question of an official committee visiting a country with which we did not have any diplomatic relations.

7. Besides the points noted above, there are no other aspects of the report which call for any clarification from the Government's side. There is also no aspect of the report calling for follow up action by the Government. The findings of the Commission may be accepted.

8. Soon after the Commission submitted its report to the Government, repeated demands have been made in the Parliament by Shri Samar Guha, M.P., and some others that the report should be laid on the table of the House immediately. Cabinet's approval is sought for laying the report on the table of the House during the current session itself with the following report about the action taken by Government.

"Government have examined the report submitted by the Commission of Inquiry appointed in July, 1970 to enquire into all the facts and circumstances relating to the disappearance



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of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1945 and the subsequent developments connected therewith. The Government have decided to accept the findings of the Commission that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died in an air crash on the 18th August, 1945 at TAIHOKU airfield in TAIWAN".

9. Home Minister has seen and approved this note.

sd/-

(M.K. MUKARJI)  
HOME SECRETARY

/F.No. 31/2/74-Poll(D-III)  
New Delhi-110001  
Dated: August 27, 1974.

Cabinet Secretariat.



No. 25/14/70-Poll. II  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS  
New Delhi, the 11th July, 1970

NOTIFICATION

S.O. 2375.- WHEREAS the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee appointed by the Government of India in April, 1950, to inquire into and to report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August, 1945, his reported death as a result of an aircraft accident, and subsequent developments connected therewith, had come to the conclusion that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose met his death in an air crash;

AND WHEREAS there is a widespread feeling amongst the public that the problem of finding the truth about Netaji's death still remains;

AND WHEREAS there has been a persistent demand for a further inquiry into the matter;

AND WHEREAS THE Central Government is of opinion that it is necessary to appoint a Commission of Inquiry for the purpose of making an inquiry into a definite matter of public importance, namely, the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1945;

NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the powers conferred by Section 3 of the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952 (60 of 1952), the Central Government hereby appoints a Commission of Inquiry consisting of Shri G.D. Khosla, Retired Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court, as sole member.

2. The Commission shall inquire into all the facts and circumstances relating to the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1945 and the subsequent developments connected therewith and make its report to the Central Government. The Commission will be expected to complete its inquiry and make its report by the 31st December, 1970.

3. The Central Government is of opinion that having regard to the nature of the inquiry to be made and other circumstances of the case, all the provisions of sub-section (2), sub-section (3), sub-section (4) and sub-section (5) of Section 5 of the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952 (60 of 1952) should be made applicable to the said Commission and the Central Government hereby directs under sub-section (1) of the said section 5 that all the provisions aforesaid shall apply to the said commission.

SC/-

T.C.A. SRINIVASAVARDAN,  
Joint Secretary



SECRET

ANNEXURE II

Points Raised by Shri Samar Guha  
in his speech in the Lok Sabha  
on August 3, 1977

1. Revelations in "Transfer of Power 1942-47  
Volume-VI" published recently by the British  
Government.

Shri Guha has referred to document No. 57 which is a letter dated August 23, 1945 from Shri F. Mudie, the then Home Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to Sir E. Jenkins, Private Secretary to the Viceroy which examines various options before the Government for dealing with Subhash Chandra Bose. He has also referred to document No. 168 which contains the minutes of the meeting of the India Burma Committee of the British Cabinet held on October 25, 1945 under the chairmanship of the British Prime Minister. While discussing the treatment of Indian and Burmese collaborators with the enemy, it was generally agreed that the only vicilian renegade of importance was Subhash Chandra Bose. On the basis of these documents, Shri Guha has tried to draw the inference that the Government of India in those days were in possession of information indicating that Netaji was not dead. However, Shri Guha's inference is not logical. In the chaotic conditions which were prevailing immediately after the close of World War-II, it was not possible for the then British Government in India to accept without verification the reports of the Japanese News Agency to the effect that Subhash Chandra Bose had died as a result of injuries sustained in a plane ~~on~~ crash on August, 18, 1945, at Taihoku. Several investigations were carried out by various Military and para-Military Organisations of the British Government and it was only towards the close of 1945 that the British Government came to the conclusion that the report regarding the death of Subhash Chandra Bose on August 18, 1945 was correct and the announcement of his death was not part of a plan to cover up Bose's escape to Russia. Thus, in document No. 161, which is a Memorandum dated 24.10.45 by the Secretary of State for India for consideration by the India Burma Committee of the British Cabinet, Lord Pethick Lawrence has referred to Subhash Chandra Bose in the following words:-

"Apart from Subhash Bose if he is alive, few of those on the list are at present well known in India." Thus, when the Cabinet Committee was being briefed the Government was clearly aware of reports regarding Bose's death but the reports were not taken as conclusive since the verification by the British authorities was not yet complete. Similarly in document No. 154 which is a memorandum dated 20.10.45 by the Secretary of State for consideration by the Cabinet Committee, the question posed is regarding action to be taken against Subhash Chandra Bose "if he were found alive". This phrase neither proves nor disproves the Japanese Report of Bose's Death on August 18, 1945.



## 2. Wavell's Journal.

On August 24, 1945 Lord Wavell made the following entry in his journal:-

"I wonder if the Japanese announcement of Subhash Chandra Bose's death in an air-crash is true, I suspect it very much, it is just what would be given out if he meant to go underground. My first reaction when it was to tell P.S.V. to ask S.E.A.C. to make most careful enquireies into the story as soon as they could. If it is true, it will be a great relief. His disposal would have presented a most difficult problem."

Again on September 21, 1945 Lord Wavell made the following entry in his journal:-

"According to the Japs at Singapore, S.C. Bose definitely is dead but I shall be sceptical till further confirmation."

On the basis of the above reactions noted by Lord Wavell in his journal Shri Guha has tried to draw the inference that the British Government did not believe in the Japanese report of the death of Shri Bose. Justice Khosla has gone into this aspect of the matter in para 4.124 of his report. Justice Khosla has mentioned that in subsequent entries in his journal, Lord Wavell took Bose's death as proved and repeatedly referred to him as a dead person.

## 3. Mounthatten's Diary.

Shri Guha has referred in his speech to certain excerpts from Mounthatten's Diary which were placed before the Khosla Commission. A telegram dated 17.10.1945 from Headquarters British Troops in China to SACSEA is as follows:-

"DMI states when Bose was preparing to leave Burma with his family by plane Chinese intercepted Japanese message ordering Bose to separate from his family and remain in Burma. DMI's supposition is that though Bose's family were in the plane that crashed Bose was not there and he subsequently escaped into Thailand. DMI has no evidence other than the intercept but is still convinced that he is correct.(DMI here appears to be the Chinese DMI)".

Again, the Weekly Intelligence Review for the week ending November 2, 1945 has a section on Bose. The Review comments that the story (about Bose's death) cannot be taken as final until the photographs said to have been taken on the spot and the actual remains of Bose have been examined. The review also comments that the story conveys the general impression that it is true but the possibility that it is fictitious cannot be overlooked for 3 reasons (a) all records at Bangkok and Saigon were destroyed by the Japs, with the exception of a file containing four signals connected with the incident (a possible plant) (b) the Japanese General Isoda was anxious to inform the Indian Community of Bose's departure, possibly in order to prepare them for the news of his death (c) the fact that one source stated that Bose died in Japan whilst others



said in Formosa (but the comment is made that the Japs may have regarded to another report in the Mountbatten paper which reads as follows:-

"It appears the whole things are suspicious. It has been said that only two seats were available in the plane. It is natural that any important person like Bose should have been allowed to move in an special plane. The description of the funeral is more suspicious. The secret signals found say that Bose died that very night at Taihoku and the dead body was flown to Tokyo. The news that was broadcast by the Domai news agency said that Bose died in Japan. Again Habibur Rahman says that Bose died at Tokyo and his body was cremated there. Such contradictions are suspicious. It can be said that Bose definitely left Saigon. Perhaps the air-crash was cooked up at Taihoku. Possibly after that Bose escaped somewhere."

It is no doubt true that at the time when the death of Subhash Chandra Bose was reported in August 1945 there was an element of scepticism in Government and military circles. The Mountbatten papers, however, do not contain any finding that Subhash Chandra Bose did not die on August 18, 1945 in the circumstances mentioned by Japan. On the contrary, the finding in the Mountbatten papers is definitely to the effect that Bose died at Taihoku on August 18, 1945. There is a reference in the Mountbatten papers to Telegram 219 of 21.5.1946 from Uklm to SACSEA in which it is stated that "we are satisfied that death of Bose has been established beyond all reasonable doubt and would have preferred not to reopen enquiry." There is another report in the Mountbatten papers which relates to the last movements of Subhash Chandra Bose. This report states that the plane carrying S.C. Bose crashed at 1400 hrs. on August 18, 1945 at Taihoku. Subhash Chandra Bose was injured seriously in the crash. He was removed to hospital where he died at 2400 hrs. on the night of August 18/19, 1945. This report is based on information furnished by Lt. Gen. Isoda of the Hikari Kikan which was the liaison organisation between the Government of Japan and the provisional Government of Subhas Chandra Bose.

4. Telegram from Mc. Arthur to Mountbatten.

Shri Guha has referred to a telegram sent by Gen. Mc Arthur to Lord Mountbatten at Singapore in which Mc. Arthur has stated "Bose has again escaped". From this Shri Guha has tried to draw the inference that the crash story is false. This matter has been discussed in para 4.125 of the Khosla Commission Report. Justice Khosla has stated that even if this statement was made, it obviously meant that the Allied Military Authorities had not been able to capture Bose alive and that the observations cannot be taken to mean that there was any information of Bose's escape to a place of safety.

5. Reaction of Mahatma Gandhi to the news of Bose's death

Shri Guha has referred to the following statements allegedly made by Mahatma Gandhi:-



- (i) Subhas Chandra Bose had thrown dust in the eyes of the British and escaped from India;
- (ii) Even if I am shown the ashes of Bose, I will not believe that Bose is dead;
- (iii) I believed that Subhas Bose is still alive and is hiding. I admire his courage and patriotism;
- (iv) Whatever you may tell me to the contrary, I still believe in my heart of hearts that Netaji is alive.

Justice Khosla has referred to the statements allegedly made by Mahatma Gandhi in para 4.119 and para 8.8. of his report. Justice Khosla has stated that if Mahatma Gandhi did say these things they could only have been prompted by his deep respect for Bose and a desire to see him alive. When any one near and dear to us or anyone great is reported to have died, we are reluctant to reconcile ourselves to the loss and so we do not believe in his death. Mahatma Gandhi's expressions amount to nothing more than such thinking or a symbolic tribute to Bose.

Moreover, Prof. Guha himself stated before the Khosla Commission that after Col. Habibur Rahman met Gandhiji and gave him an account of the air-crash Gandhiji said "after meeting Col. Habibur Rahman, I would ask my countrymen to believe what Habibur Rahman said". Therefore, according to Prof. Guha himself, Gandhiji believed Habibur Rehman's story.

#### 6. Testimony of Shri Alfred Waug, a Cannadian correspondent.

According to Shri Guha, Mr. Alfred Waug met Sardar Baldev Singh, Pandit Nehru and also Subhas Chandra Bose and showed a photograph of Netaji taken at Dalat near Saigon after August 18, 1945. The facts regarding Mr. Waug's photograph have been dealt with by Justice Khosla in para 7.8 of his report. Justice Khosla has completely disbelieved the alleged encounter of Mr. Waug with Netaji. This has been done on the basis of the fact that Mr. Waug was commissioned by a paper to write a story about Bose, but the story was never published and there is nothing to show that Waug's encounter with Bose after the date of the alleged crash was ever given publicity under Waug's signature in any American newspaper.

#### 7. Message received by Gandhiji/Pandit Nehru from Bose from Manchuria and testimony of Shri Shyam Lal Jain.

Shri Guha has asserted that the British Intelligence reported that Gandhiji and Nehru received some kind of secret communication from Netaji from Manchuria. Reference has also been made to the testimony of Shri Shyam Lal Jain (witness No. 21 before the Khosla Commission) who stated that in the end of December 1945 he was summoned by Mr. Nehru and asked to make copies of a letter which stated that Subhas Chandra Bose arrived at Manchuria on August 23, 1945. Shri S.L. Jain further testified that he took down on dictation from Mr. Nehru a letter to Mr. Clement Attlee, Prime Minister of England, stating that



Russians had allowed Bose to enter Russia and that this was a clear betrayal of faith by the Russians. The testimony of Shri Shyam Lal Jain is at pages 1299-1400 of Volume No. IV of the transcript of oral testimony before the Khosla Commission. Shri Jain's testimony was obviously not considered of probative value by Justice Khosla in the absence of any supporting documents.

8. Report of Bose's presence in Russia.

Shri Guha has referred to a letter written by the president of the North-West Frontier Student Congress in which he stated that Bose was in TT. Shri Guha has also tried to correlate Subhas Chandra Bose with one Ghilazi Malang. Shri Guha has also stated that the Russian Ambassador in Kabul informed the Governor of the Afghan Province on Khost in December, 1945 that Bose was in Moscow. Shri Guha has also stated that the Russian Vice Consul General in Tehran disclosed in March 46 that Bose was in Russia where he was secretly organising a group of Russians to work on the same lines as the INA. The Ministry of External Affairs during the course of collecting documents from foreign powers for the Khosla Commission had addressed our Embassy in Moscow to request the Russian Government for documents that may be available with them which have a bearing on the Inquiry. Our Mission sent a negative reply about availability of documents in Russian in this regard. They also quoted an entry made against the name of Netaji in the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia to the effect that Netaji died during an air-crash in 1945. In para 8.8 of his report Justice Khosla has referred to an alleged article which was published in Pravda in the Soviet Union and after a full discussion he has discounted the contentions of Prof. Guha about Bose being in Russia.

9. Report of Shri S.A. Iyer, Publicity Minister of the Azad Hind Government to Pandit Nehru in 1951.

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Shri Guha has stated that certain portions of Iyer's report to Pandit Nehru were suppressed when the report was placed in Parliament. The portion allegedly suppressed refers to disclosures by Col. Tada regarding a secret Japanese plan to send Bose to Russia. Col. Tada and Isoda are supposed to have been the architects of this secret plan. The evidence of Col. Tada has been elaborately discussed by Justice Khosla in paragraphs 4.70 to 4.73 of his report. It would appear that when Iyer was informed about Bose's death on August 20, 1945 by Col. Tada, he was disinclined to believe Tada's story because Tada was not very communicative. At the same time, Iyer did not reject Tada's story. However, ultimately Iyer accepted the crash story because at Tokyo he received Netaji's ashes at the Imperial Japanese Headquarters and helped to carry them to the Renkoji Temple and also treated the ashes with the reverence due to his leader. It was again Iyer who was asked to draft the announcement of Bose's death which was to be broadcast on August 23, 1945, and he did so. In 1951 when Iyer went to Japan to enquire into the properties belonging to INA in India and abroad, he was asked by the Subhas Chandra Bose and authentic information regarding the gold and jewellery carried by him on his last known plane flight. In his report, Shri Iyer discussed the story of the fatal air-crash in considerable detail and went on to say "in conclusion I would repeat that I have not the faintest doubt in my mind that the ashes that are enshrined in the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo



#### 10. Nehru's beliefs about Bose's death.

Shri Guha has referred to a letter written in 1962 by Pandit Nehru to Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, elder brother of Netaji in which Pandit Nehru stated:-

"You have asked me to send you proof of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death. I cannot send you any precise and direct proof".

Shri Guha has again referred to a reply by Pandit Nehru to a letter of Amiya Bose in which he said:-

"I agree with you that something should be done to finalise the question of Netaji's death".

On the basis of the above statements Professor Guha has tried to come to the conclusion that Pandit Nehru himself was not at all convinced that Netaji was dead. Justice Khosla has discussed this aspect of the matter very extensively in paras 4.116, 4.117 and 4.118 of his report. Justice Khosla has come to the conclusion that if Mr. Nehru's replies are read in full, the interpretation sought to be placed upon them is a gross travesty of what he said. Mr. Nehru had throughout taken the stand that he believed in Bose's death. Justice Khosla has further stated that Mr. Nehru's decision to appoint the Shah Nawaz Committee to inquire into Bose's death cannot be interpreted as arising from a doubt entertained by him regarding the truth of the crash story. Such a decision often means no more than that the Government in power has nothing to conceal. The Government's good faith and its truly democratic nature are proved all the more convincingly by what may prove to be a redundant inquiry.

#### 11. Failure of the Government to procure documents called for by the Khosla Commission.

Shri Guha has stated that although a list of 38 documents was submitted to the Government of India, only 5 documents were produced, and the Government stated that the remaining documents were either lost or destroyed. Reference has also been made to file 12/226/56/PM from the PM's office which was reportedly destroyed by burning. In this context, paras 9.1(xxii), 8.4 and 8.5 of the Khosla Commission Report may be referred to. Justice Khosla has categorically stated that there is no evidence of any attempt by the Government to withhold evidence or place impediments in the way of the Commission. All documents called for have been supplied. Justice Khosla has further stated that as and when he received information regarding files and documents which could throw light on the subject matter of the inquiry, he sent a requisition to the Government. The requisition was invariably complied with and all files and documents asked for were made available, except one file which was said to have been destroyed in the ordinary course of routine according to which old and unwanted files are destroyed. The position with regard to this particular file was specifically explained by the former PM Smt. Indira Gandhi in a letter written to Professor Guha on January 1, 1974.

#### 12. Visit to Taiwan.

Shri Guha has referred to the visit of the Khosla Commission to Taiwan and stated that it was only as a result of Shri Guha's personal battle for six months that Mrs. Gandhi agreed to the visit. He has further stated that the Khosla Commission was instructed by the Government of India not to have any kind of communication either with the Government of Taiwan or with any non-official organisation. Shri Guha's conclusion is that this restriction imposed on the Khosla Commission rendered its visit to Taiwan infructuous. The circumstances



in which the Commission was to function in Taiwan has been explained by Justice Khosla in para 3.21 and paras 8.41 to 8.47 of his report. Justice Khosla has stated that in all its inquiry outside India involving contacts with foreign Government agencies, the Commission has functioned with the assistance of Indian Missions located abroad. Taking into consideration the fact that we have no Mission in Taiwan, such assistance was not possible when the Commission visited Taiwan. In view of this and in view of the fact that we have no diplomatic relations with Taiwan, it was suggested that the Commission may make independent inquiries without enlisting the formal cooperation of any official or non-official body in Taiwan, and make its own arrangements on a private basis. The Commission decided to accept this suggestion. Justice Khosla has categorically stated that he was not constrained by any directive or inhibition. Justice Khosla has also concluded that any criticism by Shri Guha or anyone else regarding the Commission's manner of functioning in Taiwan is wholly unfounded and appears to have been motivated by the fact that despite the visit to Taiwan, no cogent and reliable evidence about the subject matter of the inquiry could be discovered there.

13. Alleged inquiry by Mayor of Taipei in 1946 and correspondence between Pandit Nehru and Chiang-Kai-Shek.

Shri Guha has stated that Pandit Nehru had written a letter to Chiang-Kai-Shek in 1946 requesting him to conduct an inquiry, and that an inquiry was conducted by the Mayor of Taipei who came to the conclusion that there was no proof of any plane crash. Justice Khosla has referred to this aspect of the matter in para 8.9 of his report. He has stated that the Mayor of Taipei who arrived in Taipei some time after August 18, 1945 and who is said to have made some sort of inquiry into the matter was dead when the Commission visited Taiwan. Justice Khosla has further stated that the Mayor's report, if available, would have been inadmissible in evidence, for it would be nothing more than the opinion of an individual.

14. Wind direction at Taihoku airport.

Shri Guha has referred to a statement by the Meteorological Officer at the Taihoku Airport to the effect that during this time, in the month of August, the wind blows from North to South. Since the air strip is from North to South and since a plane always takes off against the wind current, the plane would have gone from South to North. If there had been any accident at all, the accident could have been at the North end of the air strip. But each and every witness said that the air-crash took place at the South end of the airport near the Japanese Temple. I have not found any discussion in the Khosla Commission Report regarding the wind direction at Taihoku in August. However, it would hardly be



logical to disbelieve the entire crash story on the basis of a general statement regarding the direction of the wind at a particular time in a particular month. Even when an easterly wind is expected, it is not impossible for a westerly wind to blow. Similarly, when a north wind is expected, it is not impossible for a southerly wind to blow. Persons who were present in the plane which crashed have testified before the Khosla Commission about the crash and it would be highly illogical to disbelieve the entire testimony of all these witnesses merely on the basis of a general statement about the direction in which the wind generally blows around a particular time in a particular month of the year at a particular place.

15. Testimony that crash occurred in 1944.

Shri Guha has referred to the testimony of a student who said that the crash took place at that exact place in 1944 and not in 1945. Shri Guha has himself admitted that Justice Khosla did not accept the testimony and dismissed it as a figment of the imagination. Even if we agree that a crash took place in 1944, it cannot lead to an inference that another crash did not take place in 1945. In para 6.32 of his report Justice Khosla has referred to similar evidence which was sought to be adduced by Dr. S.N. Sinha. Dr. Sinha's evidence has been discussed at great length by Justice Khosla who came to the conclusion that Dr. Sinha has attempted to practise fraud upon the Commission. Justice Khosla has further stated that Dr. Sinha has acquired the travellers' proverbial propensity and readiness to tell lies.

16. Report by the CSDIC (Combined Services Detailed Intelligence Centre).

Shri Guha has referred in his speech to the testimony of Shri B.C. Chakraborty of the CSDIC. The CSDIC was a global organisation of which Col. Stevenson was the local commander. Shri B.C. Chakraborty was a member of the Indian Police Force and was deputed to the War Department of the Government of India during World War II and was attached to the CSDIC. An inquiry was conducted by a team of officers of the CSDIC into the circumstances under which Netaji is supposed to have died. Shri B.C. Chakraborty, who appeared as a witness before the Khosla Commission, was the person who carried out a major part of the inquiry and prepared the final report. Shri Chakraborty stated in his testimony before the Commission that CSDIC report came to the conclusion that the testimony of Col. Habibur Rahman was untrue and constituted an attempt to provide a camouflage for the security and protection of Netaji. From paras 5.45 to 5.58 of the Khosla Commission Report it would appear that while Shri Chakraborty was testifying before the Khosla Commission, the CSDIC report



was not before the Khosla Commission and this led Shri Chakraborty to make absolutely false statements without fear of contradiction. But the CSDIC report was subsequently made available to the Commission and disproved in every material particularly the oral testimony which Shri Chakraborty gave before the Commission. Justice Khosla has concluded that Shri Chakraborty's statement appears to have been made in the hope that the file would not be forthcoming.

17. Passenger list of the plane.

Shri Guha has stated that Justice Khosla has relied on the evidence of 4 witnesses who claimed to have travelled in the same plane as Netaji. However, since there is no documentary evidence to prove that these witnesses actually travelled in the plane with Netaji, their testimony is not reliable. This aspect of the matter has been specifically dealt with by Justice Khosla in paras 4.40 & 4.85 to 4.89 of the report. Justice Khosla has mentioned that the papers in the plane must have perished in the fire, because the front portion of the plane where they would normally be carried was completely destroyed. Justice Khosla has further stated that any flight papers at the army headquarters in Datar or Saigon must have been lost or destroyed because they were not required by any authority. There is also no evidence that there was at any time, in existence, any flight papers relating to the flight of the Bomber which left Saigon with Netaji and Habibur Rahman on August 17, 1945. It is only conjecture that such papers must have been prepared.

18. Contradictions in the testimony of different witnesses.

Shri Guha has stated that the testimony of all the witnesses is full of discrepancies and contradictions. He has cited several instances. He has referred to the type of plane, the place from which the plane came, the arrival at Touraine, the place where Netaji stayed at Touraine, the actual cause of the crash, etc. Justice Khosla was fully aware of certain discrepancies in the testimonies of different witnesses as will appear from para 4.50 (iii). The matter was argued strenuously before the Khosla Commission. Justice Khosla has discussed these arguments in paras 4.60 to 4.65 and come to the conclusion that the discrepancies to which his attention had been drawn do not falsify the story of the crash. These discrepancies are due to the passage of time and the memory of witnesses becoming somewhat vague regarding matters of detail.



19. Testimony of Shri Jagdish Kodesia.

Shri Guha has alleged that Shri Jagdish Kodesia, who was at one time President of the Delhi Congress, testified before the Khosla Commission that in 1961 when he went to Dalat, a place near Saigon, the Bishop of Dalat told him that on the day of the reported plane crash and also on the day on which the death was announced, Netaji was with the Bishop of Dalat. I do not think any notice need be taken of the testimony of Shri Kodesia. Chapter XII of the report of the Khosla Commission, running into no fewer than 43 paragraphs, discusses in elaborate detail the testimony of many witnesses (their number is legion) who claimed to have met or talked to Bose at various times and places after August 18, 1945. Justice Khosla has not found any substance in any one of these stories.

20. Inquiry into the plane crash by the Japanese authorities.

Shri Guha has referred to the fact that General Isamaye, Chief of the Japanese Formosan army told the Shah Nawaz Committee that he had asked General Ande, his second in command to hold an inquiry into the plane crash. Even then no inquiry was made. From this, Shri Guha has drawn the inference that there was no plane crash. In paras 4.86 & 4.90 of his report Justice Khosla has stated that the absence of an inquiry by the Japanese cannot lead to the inference that the crash story is false. In the chaotic conditions prevailing at that time, when the Japanese were hurrying to get out of Formosa when the American forces were expected to arrive at any moment and occupy the island, no inquiry could have been held or even contemplated.

21. Inquiries by Japanese non-official agencies.

Shri Guha has referred to an inquiry conducted some years after the crash by a Japanese non-official agency. Shri Guha has stated that a copy of the report was published in "Beacon cross Asia". It was stated in the report that a number of leading aeronautical experts from Japan with full knowledge and experience of flying and maintenance of combat planes conducted an inquiry and did not believe the crash story. I have not been able to locate the publication referred to by Shri Guha nor do I find any mention of it in the Khosla Commission Report. However, in view of the observations of Justice Khosla regarding the alleged inquiry report of the Mayor of Taipei, even if the report in Beacon Cross Asia is made available, it will not be considered to be anything but an opinion and cannot have any probative value.



22. Selective death of persons in the plane.

Shri Guha has stated that it is strange that there was a selective survival and selective death and all those persons who had to die had died and all those who had to survive survived. This has again been discussed by Justice Khosla in para 4.50(V) and in para 4.83 of his report. He has stated that the facts do not support the submission that all passengers destined for Manchuria died and the only survivors were persons who were not to go to Manchuria.

23. Lack of honours to Netaji.

Shri Guha has referred to the fact that no military honours were accorded to Bose at his funeral. He was held in high esteem by the Japanese and it is inconceivable that the Japanese would have allowed his dead body to be cremated without the usual military honours. From this Shri Guha has tried to draw the inference that Bose did not die at all. This has again been discussed by Justice Khosla in para 4.84 of his report. He has referred to the post-war and post surrender conditions prevailing in territory occupied by the Americans and complete demoralisation of the Japanese war machine. After August 15, the emphasis was not at all on the observation of protocol and proprieties but on promptness in carrying out whatever tasks could be performed before the allied forces clamped down a total ban on all Japanese movements.

24. Cremation of Netaji and death certificate of Okara Ichiro.

Shri Guha has referred to the cremation permit and a death certificate in respect of one Okara Ichiro. The argument is that this cremation permit and death certificate are alleged to be in respect of Netaji, but since the details in the permit and certificate do not correspond to Netaji, Netaji could not possibly have died. Justice Khosla has referred to this aspect of the matter in paras 4.93 to 4.99 of his report and has come to the conclusion that these two documents have no evidentiary value at all and neither of them proves or disproves anything. The argument advanced by Shri Guha is in the nature of a non-sequitur, for what does not relate to an event cannot be used to disprove it. It is tantamount to raising a phantom and then destroying it.

25. Photographs of Netaji's body and the testimony of Rahman.

Shri Guha has referred to the photographs which were taken at the time of the crash and afterwards. He has tried to make much of the fact that there is no



photograph showing the face of Netaji. This aspect of the matter has again been discussed in para 4.84 of Justice Khosla's report. He has concluded that some photographs were probably taken and these were produced by Col. Rahman but since Col. Rahman has not been examined as a witness and there is no evidence to prove the genuineness of the photographs, he would not rely on them. He treated the photographs as documents which had not been proved. This does not mean that he declared the documents to be false and, therefore, contradictory of the story of the crash. Since it was not known who took the photographs, to whom they were handed over and through which agency they received publicity they could not be used in evidence. In any event, there was no point in taking a photograph of Bose's face because he had sustained such extensive burns that his face was unrecognisable though in the form of his body resemblance remained to make identification possible.

#### 26. Netaji's watch.

Finally Shri Guha has referred to the watch which Netaji was wearing at the crash. Shri Guha has alleged that the watch which was produced before the Commission is rectangular in shape whereas Netaji never wore a rectangular watch. Shri Guha has also referred to the fact that the watch showed the time as 2-35. This again has been discussed by Justice Khosla in paras 4.103 to para 4.106 of his report. The fact which emerges is that the watch was handed over by Col. Rahman to Pandit Nehru who in turn handed it over to Shri Amia Bose. Shri Amia Bose who was questioned at great length by the Commission was inclined to believe the story attributed to Habibur Rahman and to accept the fact that the watch did in fact belong to Subhas Bose. The father of Sarat Chandra Bose also did not doubt the story. Regarding the timing shown on the watch, Justice Khosla has stated that he personally tested and found the hands of the watch could be easily manipulated. Consequently, the timing shown on the watch cannot lead to any inference about the time when the crash took place.



गुप्तगृह मंत्रालय

मंत्रिमंडल के लिए नोट

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विषय:- नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के गायब होने को नर सिरे से जांच के लिए श्री सशर गुह का प्रस्ताव ।

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1. अप्रैल, 1956 में, भारत सरकार ने जनता की मांग पर, वायुयान दुर्घटना में नेताजी की कथित मृत्यु से संबंधित परिस्थितियों का पता लगाने के लिए एक जांच-समिति नियुक्त की थी जिसमें सर्वश्री शाह नवाज खां, सुरेश चन्द्र बोस (नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के बड़े भाई) तथा अंडमान व निकोबार के दूतपूर्व मुख्य-आयुक्त श्री एस०एन० मैत्रा शामिल थे । समिति के दो सदस्य अर्थात् सर्वश्री शाह नवाज खां और एस०एन० मैत्रा इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचे कि नेता जी की मृत्यु 18 अगस्त, 1945 को ताइहोकू (फर्मीसा) में एक वायुयान-दुर्घटना में हुई । श्री सुरेश चन्द्र बोस इन निष्कर्षों से सहमत नहीं थे और उन्होंने असहमति रिपोर्ट प्रस्तुत की । बहुमत की रिपोर्ट को सरकार द्वारा स्वीकार कर लिया गया ।

2. लेकिन, नेताजी के गायब होने के संबंध में वाद-विवाद समाप्त नहीं हुआ और इस मामले में कोई अन्य जांच किए जाने की मांग बराबर की जाती रही । नेताजी के जिन्या होने तथा वाद में उनके कहीं अन्यत्र देखे जाने के बारे में आपत्ताएँ बार-बार उठती रहीं । विभिन्न राजनीतिक दलों के अनेक संसद सदस्यों द्वारा की गई, नई जांच की मांग के अनुसार सरकार ने सम्पूर्ण मामले की जांच करने के लिए जुलाई, 1970 में एक जांच आयोग नियुक्त करने का निर्णय लिया था । "1945 में नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के गायब होने से संबंधित सभी तथ्यों तथा परिस्थितियों और उससे संबंधित वाद की बातों की जांच करने और केन्द्रीय सरकार को



रिपोर्ट देने के लिए" पंजाब उच्च न्यायालय के अवकाश प्राप्त मुख्य न्यायाधीश श्री जे०डी० खोसला को एक सदस्यीय आयोग के रूप में नियुक्त किया गया था । आयोग ने जापान, बर्मा, थाईलैंड, सिंगापुर, मलेशिया, दक्षिण वियतनाम और फ़रमोसा (ताइवान) को यात्रा की और 224 साक्षियों की जांच की जिनमें से 100 को जांच विदेश में की गई । साक्ष्य के तौर पर बहुत सी फ़ाइलें और दस्तावेजों को पेश किया गया और उनके हवाले दिये गए । आयोग ने अपनी रिपोर्ट 30 जून, 1974 को पेश की । आयोग उसी निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचा जिस पर 1956 में शाह नवाज कमेटी पहुंची थी अर्थात् यह कि 18 अगस्त, 1945 को ताइहोकू में एक वायुयान दुर्घटना में नेताजी की मृत्यु हो गई थी ।

3. मंत्रिमंडल ने 29 अगस्त, 1974 को आयोग की रिपोर्ट पर विचार किया । मंत्रिमंडल के सन्मुख प्रस्तुत की गई टिप्पणी की एक प्रति अनुलग्नक I पर दी गई है । मंत्रिमंडल ने यह निष्कर्ष स्वीकार किया कि नेताजी की ताइवान में ताइहोकू के स्थान पर 18 अगस्त, 1945 को एक वायुयान दुर्घटना में मृत्यु हो गई थी । आयोग की रिपोर्ट को उस पर की गई करीवाई संबंधी जापान के साथ संसद के दोनों सदनों के सभा पटलों पर 3 सितम्बर, 1974 को रखा दिया गया था ।

4. श्री सगर मुह ने 3 अगस्त, 1977 को लोकसभा में निम्न-लिखित प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया:—

"नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के गायब होने से संबंधित जांच आयोग की उस रिपोर्ट पर विचार करने के बाद जो सदन के सभा पटल पर 3 सितम्बर, 1974 को रखी गई थी, यह सदन सरकार से नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के गायब होने के रहस्य की नए सिरे से जांच करने के लिये एक त्रिसदस्यीय आयोग नियुक्त करने को कहता है । इस आयोग को अधिकार



होगा कि:-

- (क) वह 18 अगस्त, 1945 से लेकर जहाँ भी आवश्यक हो, उन सभी परिस्थितियों के बारे में अतिरिक्त पड़ताल करें जिनके फलस्वरूप नेताजी गायब हुए ;
- (ख) विशेष महत्व के नए मौखिक साक्ष्य रिकार्ड करें ;
- (ग) उन गुप्त सरकारी दस्तावेजों की जाँच करें जो भारत सरकार के कब्जे में हैं और पहले के जाँच निकायों को उपलब्ध नहीं कराये गए थे ;
- (घ) नेताजी के गायब होने के बारे में बाहरी दस्तावेजों की जाँच करें जिन्हें उपयुक्त सूत्रों से और जापान, ताइवान, यूनाइटेड किंगडम, यूएसएसए, चीन और रूस की सरकारों से प्राप्त किया जाय ; और
- (ड0) शाह नवाज समिति और खोसला आयोग के सामने दिये गए सभी लिखित तथा मौखिक साक्ष्यों का पुनर्भूत्यांकन करें ।<sup>26</sup>

प्रस्ताव पर वाद-विवाद का कोई निर्णय नहीं निकला । प्रस्ताव पर बोलने वालों में श्री सूर्य गृह प्रमुख थे और श्री सशोक शेखर सान्याल ने अंत में संक्षिप्त सा भ्राषण दिया । इस प्रस्ताव के लोकसभा के आगामी अधिवेशन में दोबारा विचारार्थ प्रस्तुत होने की संभावना है और उस समय गृह मंत्री से इस प्रस्ताव पर सरकारी दृष्टिकोण स्पष्ट करने की आशा की जायगी ।

5. लोकसभा में अपने 3 अगस्त, 1977 के धारण में श्री सूर्य गृह ने नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के गायब होने की रहस्यमय परिस्थितियों पर विस्तारपूर्वक विचार प्रवृत्त किये थे । उनके मतानुसार इस रहस्य का अभी संतोषजनक रूप से पता लगाना बाकी है । अनुलग्नक-II के रूप में संलग्न नोट में दिए गए खोसला आयोग के निष्कर्षों की तुलना में, उनके द्वारा उठाए गए मुद्दों की गृह मंत्रालय में पूरी तरह से जाँच



की गई है । इससे पता चलता है कि श्री समर गुह द्वारा उल्लिखित लगभग सभी मुद्दों की खोसला आयोग द्वारा पूरी तरह जांच की गई है और कोई नया आधार नहीं दिया गया जिससे आगे जांच करना आवश्यक हो । श्री समर गुह द्वारा दी गई एक मात्र नई सूचना का संबंध कुछ उन कागजात से है जो हाल ही में ब्रिटिश सरकार द्वारा प्रकाशित "दि ट्रांसफर ऑफ पावर 1942-47" खंड 6 में शामिल है । इन कागजात से ऐसा लगता है कि 18 अगस्त, 1945 को एक वायुयान दुर्घटना में नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की मृत्यु के बारे में जपानी घोषणा के बाद भी कुछ यही नौ तक, ब्रिटिश सरकार नेताजी के साथ निपटने के रास्तों पर विचार-विमर्श करती रही थी । जिन सछतावेजों का आधार माना गया है वे ये हैं: (i) वायसराय के निजी सचिव सर ई० जेनकिन्स को लिखे गए वायसराय की कार्यकारी परिषद् के गृह सदस्य सर एफ० मुडी का तारीख 23 अगस्त, 1945 का पत्र जिसमें नेता जी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस से निपटने के लिए सरकार के सामने विभिन्न विकल्प प्रस्तुत किए गए हैं; (ii) 25 अक्टूबर, 1945 को हुई ब्रिटिश कैबिनेट की भारत-बर्मी समिति की बैठक का कार्यवृत्त, जिसमें, शत्रु के साथ साठ-गांठ करने वाले भारतीय और बर्मी व्यक्तियों के व्यवहार पर विचार-विमर्श करते समय, आमतौर पर इस बात से सहमति प्रकट की गई कि फरार नागरिकों में सबसे महत्वपूर्ण व्यक्ति सुभाष चन्द्र बोस था ।

6. 18 अगस्त, 1945 को ताइवान ताइहोक् हवाई अड्डे पर एक वायुयान दुर्घटना में नेताजी की मृत्यु होने की सूचना 23 अगस्त, 1945 को टोक्यो से डीपे समाचार एजेंसी द्वारा प्रसारित की गई थी । वायसराय के निजी सचिव को भेजा गया सर एफ० मुडी का वह पत्र भी उसी तारीख का था जिसके साथ ब्रिटिश अधिकारियों के बीच विचार-विमर्श के बाद तैयार किया गया एक नोट संलग्न था । समय के बारे में यह सोचना उचित है कि इस पत्र के भेजते समय नेताजी की मृत्यु की सूचना



के बारे में भारत में जानकारी न हो । जहाँ तक 25-10-1945 को हुई ब्रिटिश कैबिनेट की भारत-वर्मा समिति के कार्यवृत्त का संबंध है, विचार के लिए सेक्रेटरी आफ स्टेट फ़ॉर इंडिया (लार्ड पैथ्रिक लोरेन्स) के तारीख 24-10-45 के ज़ापन में बौस के बारे में निम्नलिखित शब्दों में जिक्र है:—

"सुभाष बौस के अलावा, यदि वह जीवित है, सूची में दर्ज व्यक्तियों में से कुछ ही ऐसे हैं जो भारत में प्रसिद्ध हैं" ।

इससे कोई भी यह अर्थ नहीं लगा सकता कि ब्रिटिश सरकार को इस बात की सूचना थी कि नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बौस वायुयान दुर्घटना के शिकार नहीं हुए थे और बच निकले थे । परन्तु यह स्वाभाविक है कि ब्रिटिश सरकार ने नेताजी की मृत्यु के बारे में जापानी रिपोर्ट में उसी तरह तुरन्त विश्वास नहीं किया जैसे कि भारत के बहुत से व्यक्तियों ने जिसमें महात्मा गांधी भी शामिल हैं, पहले इस रिपोर्ट में विश्वास नहीं किया था । ब्रिटिश सरकार ने उस समय तक यह संदेह किया था कि वायुयान दुर्घटना में मृत्यु होने की सूचना झूठी हो सकती है ताकि नेताजी बच कर भाग जायें जबतक कि जापानी रिपोर्ट की उनकी अपनी रेजेलिसियों द्वारा की गई जांच से वर्ष 1945 के अन्त में पुरिटे नहीं हो गई ।

7. नेताजी की मृत्यु का मसला भावनाओं से गुड़ा हुआ है ।

इस विषय पर हम पहले ही दो जांच करा चुके हैं । नई जांच के बाद निकाले जाने वाले किसी भी निष्कर्ष को ध्यान में रखे बिना श्री सप्तर गुह और उनकी जैसी धारणा वाले अन्य व्यक्ति यही विश्वास करते रहेंगे कि नेताजी की मृत्यु 1945 में वायुयान दुर्घटना में नहीं हुई । नई जांच काफ़ी समय बाद से भविष्य में हमेशा के लिए इस विवाद के समाप्त होने, अथवा इससे /



पिछले जाँचों की अपेक्षा अधिक तथ्य की प्रकाश में आने की संभावना नहीं है । इसलिए गृह मंत्रालय का विचार है कि कोई अन्य जाँच खरवाने से कोई लाभ नहीं होगा । इसलिए सुझाव है कि नई जाँच कराने की याँग के लिए श्री सचिव गृह द्वारा प्रस्तुत प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार न किया जाए ।

8. पैरा 7 में उल्लिखित प्रस्ताव पर मंत्रिमंडल को स्वीकृति प्रार्थित है ।

9. गृह मंत्री जो ने इस नोट को देा लिया है और इसका अनुमोदन कर दिया है ।

डी. गि. ११२५९५५

(टी०सो०ए० श्रीनिवासवरदन)

गृह सचिव

I/12014/9/77-डी-III (एस० एण्ड पी०)

नई दिल्ली,

17 नवम्बर, 1977.

सेवा में,

मंत्रिमंडल सचिवालय,

राष्ट्रपति भवन,

नई दिल्ली ।



ANNEXURE INOTE FOR THE CABINET

Subject:- The report of the one-man Commission of Inquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

..

In April, 1956, the Government of India, in response to public demand, appointed an Inquiry Committee consisting of Sarvashri Shah Nawaz Khan, Suresh Chandra Bose (elder brother of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose) and S.N. Maitra, formerly Chief Commissioner of Andaman and Nicobar, to ascertain the circumstances concerning Netaji's alleged death in an air-crash. Two members of the Committee, namely, Sarvashri Shah Nawaz Khan and S.N. Maitra, came to the conclusion that Netaji met his death in an aircrash at Taihoku (Formosa) on the 18th August, 1945. Shri Suresh Chandra Bose disagreed with these findings and submitted a dissentient report. The majority report was accepted by the Government. The controversy over the disappearance of Netaji was, however, not resolved and demands continued to be made for undertaking another inquiry into the matter. Rumours about Netaji's survival and his subsequent appearance elsewhere cropped up repeatedly. In response to a demand for a fresh inquiry by a number of Members of Parliament belonging to different political parties the Government decided to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to go into the entire matter in July 1970, Shri G.D. Khosla, retired Chief Justice of Punjab High Court, was appointed as a one man Commission to "inquire into all the facts and circumstances relating to the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1945 and the subsequent developments connected therewith and make its report to the Central Government". A copy of notification No. 25/14/70-Poll.II dated the 11th July, 1970 is placed at Annexure I. The Commission visited Japan, Burma, Thailand, Singapore, Malayasia, South Vietnam and Formosa (Taiwan) and on the whole examined 224 witnesses including 100 who were examined abroad. A large number of files and documents were produced and cited in evidence. The Commission submitted its report on the 30th June, 1974.

2. The main conclusions reached by the Commission in its Inquiry are, in brief, as follows:

3. On the morning of 16.8.1945, Netaji left Singapore accompanied by a few colleagues and others and arrived at Bangkok at 3.30 P.M. and spent the night there. At about 8.00 A.M. on 17.8.1945, Netaji and party left by two planes and reached Saigon at 11.00 A.M. The Commission examined, among others, 8 witnesses



who accompanied Netaji in his journey up to Saigon. These included (1) Hachia who was deputed by the Japanese Government to assist Netaji as Minister of the provisional Government of free India. He remained with Netaji till August 17, 1945, (2) Nigeshi, another official of the Japanese Government who delivered the letter containing the terms of surrender to Netaji at Saramban, accompanied him to Singapore and remained with him till the morning of August 17, 1945, and (3) Gen. Ikeda, who was the Chief of the Hikari Kikan, liaison agency of the Japanese Government with the Azad Hind Government. He joined Netaji at Singapore and went with him upto Saigon. The others were Sarvashri S.A. Iyer, Gulzara Singh and Abid Hasan who were members in Netaji's provisional Government besides Debnath Das and Col. Pritam Singh who were close confidants of Netaji. There were some difficulties in making transport arrangements for Netaji and his party beyond Saigon. Only two seats were finally offered to him in a Japanese bomber which had come from Manila and was going to Dairen in Manchuria. After some discussion, Netaji decided to avail himself of the two seats and left Saigon by the bomber plane at approximately 5.00 P.M. on 17.8.1945, along with his associate Habibur Rehman. The plane arrived at Tourain at 7.45 P.M. and the party spent the night there. Next day, the bomber left Tourain and arrived at Taipei in Formosa at 2.00 P.M. At Taipei, the pilot attended to a snag in one of the engines which he declared had been corrected after a short while. The passengers accordingly explained and the pilot took off at 2.35 P.M. Within a few seconds, one of the engines flew out and the plane crashed near the fringe of the Taihoku airfield. The body of the plane broke into two parts and caught fire. Netaji had sustained burn injuries of the third degree in the aircrash. He was rushed, along with other injured persons, to the Military Hospital where, despite the efforts of the doctors to revive him, he succumbed to the injuries the same night. The Commission examined, among others, 4 witnesses who claimed to have travelled in the ill-fated bomber plane with Netaji on 18.8.1945, including the navigator of the plane. The testimony of these 4 eye-witnesses was corroborated by 11 other witnesses before the Commission. Among the corroborating witnesses was Dr. Yashimi who was acting as the Chief of the Branch Hospital at the Taihoku Army Hospital, who claimed to have been present when Netaji died and to have signed his death certificate. The Commission has concluded that the numerous stories about the meetings of other persons with Netaji at various places and times after 1945 are completely false and unacceptable.



4. The Commission has thus arrived at the same conclusion that was reached by the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee in 1956 that Netaji died in an air-crash at Taihoku on the 18th August, 1945. The Commission has summarised its findings in Chapter IX of the report.

5. In paras 3.19 to 3.21 in Chapter III, the Commission has referred to two factors among the several causes that contributed to delay in the completion of inquiry. One relates to the delay in the appointment of a Government counsel to conduct the proceedings and render legal assistance to the Commission. The connected facts briefly are that the request for the appointment of a counsel to assist the Commission was received in October, 1970. The appointment of Shri Gopi Nath Dikshit was first considered and finalised and then it transpired that he had appeared before the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee also. Some other names were then considered but could not be finalised because one counsel was not willing to accompany the Commission to Japan and another counsel declined to accept the appointment after the appointment order was issued. Finally, the Ministry of Law suggested the name of Shri T.R. Bhasin and he was appointed with effect from the 28th March, 1972.

6. The second factor mentioned by the Commission relates to the delay in arrangements for its visit to Taiwan. There was some delay in processing this matter because it involved the question of an official committee visiting a country with which we did not have any diplomatic relations.

7. Besides the points noted above, there are no other aspects of the report which call for any clarification from the Government's side. There is also no aspect of the report calling for follow up action by the Government. The findings of the Commission may be accepted.

8. Soon after the Commission submitted its report to the Government, repeated demands have been made in the Parliament by Shri Samar Guha, M.P., and some others that the report should be laid on the table of the House immediately. Cabinet's approval is sought for laying the report on the table of the House during the current session itself with the following report about the action taken by Government.

"Government have examined the report submitted by the Commission of Inquiry appointed in July, 1970 to enquire into all the facts and circumstances relating to the disappearance



of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1945 and the subsequent developments connected therewith. The Government have decided to accept the findings of the Commission that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died in an air crash on the 18th August, 1945 at TAIHOKU airfield in TAIWAN".

9. Home Minister has seen and approved this note.

sd/-

(N.K. MUKARJI)  
HOME SECRETARY

/F.No. 31/2/74-Poll(D.III)  
New Delhi-110001  
Dated: August 27, 1974.

Cabinet Secretariat.



No. 25/14/70-Poll. II  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS  
New Delhi, the 11th July, 1970

NOTIFICATION

S.O. 2375.- WHEREAS the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee appointed by the Government of India in April, 1950, to inquire into and to report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August, 1945, his reported death as a result of an aircraft accident, and subsequent developments connected therewith, had come to the conclusion that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose met his death in an air crash;

AND WHEREAS there is a widespread feeling amongst the public that the problem of finding the truth about Netaji's death still remains;

AND WHEREAS there has been a persistent demand for a further inquiry into the matter;

AND WHEREAS THE Central Government is of opinion that it is necessary to appoint a Commission of Inquiry for the purpose of making an inquiry into a definite matter of public importance, namely, the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1945;

NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the powers conferred by Section 3 of the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952 (60 of 1952), the Central Government hereby appoints a Commission of Inquiry consisting of Shri G.D. Khosla, Retired Chief Justice of the Punjab High Court, as sole member.

2. The Commission shall inquire into all the facts and circumstances relating to the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in 1945 and the subsequent developments connected therewith and make its report to the Central Government. The Commission will be expected to complete its inquiry and make its report by the 31st December, 1970.

3. The Central Government is of opinion that having regard to the nature of the inquiry to be made and other circumstances of the case, all the provisions of sub-section (2), sub-section (3), sub-section (4) and sub-section (5) of Section 5 of the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952 (60 of 1952) should be made applicable to the said Commission and the Central Government hereby directs under sub-section (1) of the said section 5 that all the provisions aforesaid shall apply to the said commission.

Sd/-

T.C.A. SRINIVASARUDAN,  
Joint Secretary



Points Raised by Shri Samar Guha  
in his speech in the Lok Sabha  
on August 3, 1977

1. Revelations in "Transfer of Power 1942-47  
Volume-VI" published recently by the British  
Government.

Shri Guha has referred to document No. 57 which is a letter dated August 23, 1945 from Shri F. Mudie, the then Home Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to Sir E. Jenkins, Private Secretary to the Viceroy which examines various options before the Government for dealing with Subhash Chandra Bose. He has also referred to document No. 168 which contains the minutes of the meeting of the India Burma Committee of the British Cabinet held on October 25, 1945 under the chairmanship of the British Prime Minister. While discussing the treatment of Indian and Burmese collaborators with the enemy, it was generally agreed that the only vicilian renegade of importance was Subhash Chandra Bose. On the basis of these documents, Shri Guha has tried to draw the inference that the Government of India in those days were in possession of information indicating that Netaji was not dead. However, Shri Guha's inference is not logical. In the chaotic conditions which were prevailing immediately after the close of World War-II, it was not possible for the then British Government in India to accept without verification the reports of the Japanese News Agency to the effect that Subhash Chandra Bose had died as a result of injuries sustained in a plane crash on August, 18, 1945, at Taihoku. Several investigations were carried out by various Military and para-Military Organisations of the British Government and it was only towards the close of 1945 that the British Government came to the conclusion that the report regarding the death of Subhash Chandra Bose on August 18, 1945 was correct and the announcement of his death was not part of a plan to cover up Bose's escape to Russia. Thus, in document No. 161, which is a Memorandum dated 24.10.45 by the Secretary of State for India for consideration by the India Burma Committee of the British Cabinet, Lord Pethick Lawrence has referred to Subhash Chandra Bose in the following words:-

"Apart from Subhash Bose if he is alive, few of those on the list are at present well known in India." Thus, when the Cabinet Committee was being briefed the Government was clearly aware of reports regarding Bose's death but the reports were not taken as conclusive since the verification by the British authorities was not yet complete. Similarly in document No. 154 which is a memorandum dated 20.10.45 by the Secretary of State for consideration by the Cabinet Committee, the question posed is regarding action to be taken against Subhash Chandra Bose "if he were found alive". This phrase neither proves nor disproves the Japanese Report of Bose's Death on August 18, 1945.



## 2. Wavell's Journal.

On August 24, 1945 Lord Wavell made the following entry in his journal:-

"I wonder if the Japanese announcement of Subhash Chandra Bose's death in an air-crash is true, I suspect it very much, it is just what would be given out if he meant to go underground. My first reaction when it was to tell P.S.V. to ask S.E.A.C. to make most careful enquireies into the story as soon as they could. If it is true, it will be a great relief. His disposal would have presented a most difficult problem."

Again on September 21, 1945 Lord Wavell made the following entry in his journal:-

"According to the Japs at Singapore, S.C. Bose definitely is dead but I shall be sceptical till further confirmation."

On the basis of the above reactions noted by Lord Wavell in his journal Shri Guha has tried to draw the inference that the British Government did not believe in the Japanese report of the death of Shri Bose. Justice Khosla ~~x~~ has gone into this aspect of the matter in para 4.124 of his report. Justice Khosla has mentioned that in subsequent entries in his journal, Lord Wavell took Bose's death as proved and repeatedly referred to him as a dead person.

## 3. Mounthatten's Diary.

Shri Guha has referred in his speech to certain excerpts from Mounthatten's Diary which were placed before the Khosla Commission. A telegram dated 17.10.1945 from Headquarters British Troops in China to ~~SACSEA~~ is as follows:-

"DMI states when Bose was preparing to leave Burma with his family by plane Chinese intercepted Japanese message ordering Bose to separate from his family and remain in Burma. DMI's supposition is that though Bose's family were in the plane that crashed Bose was not there and he subsequently escaped into Thailand. DMI has no evidence other than the intercept but is still convinced that he is correct.(DMI here appears to be the Chinese DMI)".

Again, the Weekly Intelligence Review for the week ending November 2, 1945 has a section on Bose. The Review comments that the story (about Bose's death) cannot be taken as final until the photographs said to have been taken on the spot and the actual remains of Bose have been examined. The review also comments that the story conveys the general impression that it is true but the possibility that it is fictitious cannot be overlooked for 3 reasons (a) all records at Bangkok and Saigon were destroyed by the Japs, with the exception of a file containing four signals connected with the incident (a possible plant) (b) the Japanese General Isoda was anxious to inform the Indian Community of Bose's departure, possibly in order to prepare them for the news of his death (c) the fact that one source stated that Bose died in Japan whilst others



said in Formosa (but the comment is made that the Japs may have regarded to another report in the Mountbatten paper which reads as follows:-

"It appears the whole things are suspicious. It has been said that only two seats were available in the plane. It is natural that any important person like Bose should have been allowed to move in a special plane. The description of the funeral is more suspicious. The secret signals found say that Bose died that very night at Taihoku and the dead body was flown to Tokyo. The news that was broadcast by the Domai news agency said that Bose died in Japan. Again Habibur Rahman says that Bose died at Tokyo and his body was cremated there. Such contradictions are suspicious. It can be said that Bose definitely left Saigon. Perhaps the air-crash was cooked up at Taihoku. Possibly after that Bose escaped somewhere."

It is no doubt true that at the time when the death of Subhash Chandra Bose was reported in August 1945 there was an element of scepticism in Government and military circles. The Mountbatten papers, however, do not contain any finding that Subhash Chandra Bose did not die on August 18, 1945 in the circumstances mentioned by Japan. On the contrary, the finding in the Mountbatten papers is definitely to the effect that Bose died at Taihoku on August 18, 1945. There is a reference in the Mountbatten papers to Telegram 219 of 21.5.1946 from Uklin to SACSEA in which it is stated that "we are satisfied that death of Bose has been established beyond all reasonable doubt and would have preferred not to reopen enquiry." There is another report in the Mountbatten papers which relates to the last movements of Subhash Chandra Bose. This report states that the plane carrying S.C. Bose crashed at 1400 hrs. on August 18, 1945 at Taihoku. Subhash Chandra Bose was injured seriously in the crash. He was removed to hospital where he died at 2400 hrs. on the night of August 18/19, 1945. This report is based on information furnished by Lt. Gen. Isoda of the Hikari Kikan which was the liaison organisation between the Government of Japan and the provisional Government of Subhas Chandra Bose.

#### 4. Telegram from Mc. Arthur to Mountbatten.

Shri Guha has referred to a telegram sent by Gen. Mc Arthur to Lord Mountbatten at Singapore in which Mc. Arthur has stated "Bose has again escaped". From this Shri Guha has tried to draw the inference that the crash story is false. This matter has been discussed in para 4.125 of the Khosla Commission Report. Justice Khosla has stated that even if this statement was made, it obviously meant that the Allied Military Authorities had not been able to capture Bose alive and that the observations cannot be taken to mean that there was any information of Bose's escape to a place of safety.

#### 5. Reaction of Mahatma Gandhi to the news of Bose's death

Shri Guha has referred to the following statements allegedly made by Mahatma Gandhi:-



: 4 :

- (i) Subhas Chandra Bose had thrown dust in the eyes of the British and escaped from India;
- (ii) Even if I am shown the ashes of Bose, I will not believe that Bose is dead;
- (iii) I believed that Subhas Bose is still alive and is hiding. I admire his courage and patriotism;
- (iv) Whatever you may tell me to the contrary, I still believe in my heart of hearts that Netaji is alive.

Justice Khosla has referred to the statements allegedly made by Mahatma Gandhi in para 4.119 and para 8.8. of his report. Justice Khosla has stated that if Mahatma Gandhi did say these things they could only have been prompted by his deep respect for Bose and a desire to see him alive. When any one near and dear to us or anyone great is reported to have died, we are reluctant to reconcile ourselves to the loss and so we do not believe in his death. Mahatma Gandhi's expressions amount to nothing more than such thinking or a symbolic tribute to Bose.

Moreover, Prof. Guha himself stated before the Khosla Commission that after Col. Habibur Rahman met Gandhiji and gave him an account of the air-crash Gandhiji said "after meeting Col. Habibur Rahman, I would ask my countrymen to believe what Habibur Rehman said". Therefore, according to Prof. Guha himself, Gandhiji believed Habibur Rehman's story.

#### 6. Testimony of Shri Alfred Waug, a Canadian correspondent.

According to Shri Guha, Mr. Alfred Waug met Sardar Baldev Singh, Pandit Nehru and also Subhas Chandra Bose and showed a photograph of Netaji taken at Dalat near Saigon after August 18, 1945. The facts regarding Mr. Waug's photograph have been dealt with by Justice Khosla in para 7.8 of his report. Justice Khosla has completely disbelieved the alleged encounter of Mr. Waug with Netaji. This has been done on the basis of the fact that Mr. Waug was commissioned by a paper to write a story about Bose, but the story was never published and there is nothing to show that Waug's encounter with Bose after the date of the alleged crash was ever given publicity under Waug's signature in any American newspaper.

#### 7. Message received by Gandhiji/Pandit Nehru from Bose from Manchuria and testimony of Shri Shyam Lal Jain.

Shri Guha has asserted that the British Intelligence reported that Gandhiji and Nehru received some kind of secret communication from Netaji from Manchuria. Reference has also been made to the testimony of Shri Shyam Lal Jain (witness No. 21 before the Khosla Commission) who stated that in the end of December 1945 he was summoned by Mr. Nehru and asked to make copies of a letter which stated that Subhas Chandra Bose arrived at Manchuria on August 23, 1945. Shri S.L. Jain further testified that he took down on dictation from Mr. Nehru a letter to Mr. Clement Attlee, Prime Minister of England, stating that



Russians had allowed Bose to enter Russia and that this was a clear betrayal of faith by the Russians. The testimony of Shri Shyam Lal Jain is at pages 1299-1400 of Volume No. IV of the transcript of oral testimony before the Khosla Commission. Shri Jain's testimony was obviously not considered of probative value by Justice Khosla in the absence of any supporting documents.

8. Report of Bose's presence in Russia.

Shri Guha has referred to a letter written by the president of the North-West Frontier Student Congress in which he stated that Bose was in TT. Shri Guha has also tried to correlate Subhas Chandra Bose with one Ghilazi Malang. Shri Guha has also stated that the Russian Ambassador in Kabul informed the Governor of the Afghan Province on Khost in December, 1945 that Bose was in Moscow. Shri Guha has also stated that the Russian Vice Consul General in Tehran disclosed in March 46 that Bose was in Russia where he was secretly organising a group of Russians to work on the same lines as the INA. The Ministry of External Affairs during the course of collecting documents from foreign powers for the Khosla Commission had addressed our Embassy in Moscow to request the Russian Government for documents that may be available with them which have a bearing on the Inquiry. Our Mission sent a negative reply about availability of documents in Russian in this regard. They also quoted an entry made against the name of Netaji in the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia to the effect that Netaji died during an air-crash in 1945. In para 8.8 of his report Justice Khosla has referred to an alleged article which was published in Pravda in the Soviet Union and after a full discussion he has discounted the contentions of Prof. Guha about Bose being in Russia.

9. Report of Shri S.A. Iyer, Publicity Minister of the Azad Hind Government to Pandit Nehru in 1951.

Shri Guha has stated that certain portions of Iyer's report to Pandit Nehru were suppressed when the report was placed in Parliament. The portion allegedly suppressed refers to disclosures by Col. Tada regarding a secret Japanese plan to send Bose to Russia. Col. Tada and Isoda are supposed to have been the architects of this secret plan. The evidence of Col. Tada has been elaborately discussed by Justice Khosla in paragraphs 4.70 to 4.73 of his report. It would appear that when Iyer was informed about Bose's death on August 20, 1945 by Col. Tada, he was disinclined to believe Tada's story because Tada was not very communicative. At the same time, Iyer did not reject Tada's story. However, ultimately Iyer accepted the crash story because at Tokyo he received Netaji's ashes at the Imperial Japanese Headquarters and helped to carry them to the Renkoji Temple and also treated the ashes with the reverence due to his leader. It was again Iyer who was asked to draft the announcement of Bose's death which was to be broadcast on August 23, 1945, and he did so. In 1951 when Iyer went to Japan to enquire into the properties belonging to INA in India and abroad, he was asked by the Subhas Chandra Bose and authentic information regarding the gold and jewellery carried by him on his last known plane flight. In his report, Shri Iyer discussed the story of the fatal air-crash in considerable detail and went on to say "in conclusion I would repeat that I have not the faintest doubt in my mind that the ashes that are enshrined in the Renkoji Temple in Tokyo are of Netaji's".



10. Nehru's beliefs about Bose's death.

Shri Guha has referred to a letter written in 1962 by Pandit Nehru to Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, elder brother of Netaji in which Pandit Nehru stated:-

"You have asked me to send you proof of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death. I cannot send you any precise and direct proof".

Shri Guha has again referred to a reply by Pandit Nehru to a letter of Amiya Bose in which he said:-

"I agree with you that something should be done to finalise the question of Netaji's death".

On the basis of the above statements Professor Guha has tried to come to the conclusion that Pandit Nehru himself was not at all convinced that Netaji was dead. Justice Khosla has discussed this aspect of the matter very extensively in paras 4.116, 4.117 and 4.118 of his report. Justice Khosla has come to the conclusion that if Mr. Nehru's replies are read in full, the interpretation sought to be placed upon them is a gross travesty of what he said. Mr. Nehru had throughout taken the stand that he believed in Bose's death. Justice Khosla has further stated that Mr. Nehru's decision to appoint the Shah Nawaz Committee to inquire into Bose's death cannot be interpreted as arising from a doubt entertained by him regarding the truth of the crash story. Such a decision often means no more than that the Government in power has nothing to conceal. The Government's good faith and its truly democratic nature are proved all the more convincingly by what may prove to be a redundant inquiry.

11. Failure of the Government to procure documents called for by the Khosla Commission.

Shri Guha has stated that although a list of 38 documents was submitted to the Government of India, only 5 documents were produced, and the Government stated that the remaining documents were either lost or destroyed. Reference has also been made to file 12/226/56/PM from the PM's office which was reportedly destroyed by burning. In this context, paras 9.1(xxii), 8.4 and 8.5 of the Khosla Commission Report may be referred to. Justice Khosla has categorically stated that there is no evidence of any attempt by the Government to withhold evidence or place impediments in the way of the Commission. All documents called for have been supplied. Justice Khosla has further stated that as and when he received information regarding files and documents which could throw light on the subject matter of the inquiry, he sent a requisition to the Government. The requisition was invariably complied with and all files and documents asked for were made available, except one file which was said to have been destroyed in the ordinary course of routine according to which old and unwanted files are destroyed. The position with regard to this particular file was specifically explained by the former PM Smt. Indira Gandhi in a letter written to Professor Guha on January 1, 1974.

12. Visit to Taiwan.

Shri Guha has referred to the visit of the Khosla Commission to Taiwan and stated that it was only as a result of Shri Guha's personal battle for six months that Mrs. Gandhi agreed to the visit. He has further stated that the Khosla Commission was instructed by the Government of India not to have any kind of communication either with the Government of Taiwan or with any non-official organisation. Shri Guha's conclusion is that this restriction imposed on the Khosla Commission rendered its visit to Taiwan infructuous. The circumstances



under which the visit to Taiwan was arranged and the manner in which the Commission was to function in Taiwan has been explained by Justice Khosla in para 3.21 and paras 8.41 to 8.47 of his report. Justice Khosla has stated that in all its inquiry outside India involving contacts with foreign Government agencies, the Commission has functioned with the assistance of Indian Missions located abroad. Taking into consideration the fact that we have no Mission in Taiwan, such assistance was not possible when the Commission visited Taiwan. In view of this and in view of the fact that we have no diplomatic relations with Taiwan, it was suggested that the Commission may make independent inquiries without enlisting the formal cooperation of any official or non-official body in Taiwan, and make its own arrangements on a private basis. The Commission decided to accept this suggestion. Justice Khosla has categorically stated that he was not constrained by any directive or inhibition. Justice Khosla has also concluded that any criticism by Shri Guha or anyone else regarding the Commission's manner of functioning in Taiwan is wholly unfounded and appears to have been motivated by the fact that despite the visit to Taiwan, no cogent and reliable evidence about the subject matter of the inquiry could be discovered there.

13. Alleged inquiry by Mayor of Taipei in 1946 and correspondence between Pandit Nehru and Chiang-Kai-Shek.

Shri Guha has stated that Pandit Nehru had written a letter to Chiang-Kai-Shek in 1946 requesting him to conduct an inquiry, and that an inquiry was conducted by the Mayor of Taipei who came to the conclusion that there was no proof of any plane crash. Justice Khosla has referred to this aspect of the matter in para 8.9 of his report. He has stated that the Mayor of Taipei who arrived in Taipei some time after August 18, 1945 and who is said to have made some sort of inquiry into the matter was dead when the Commission visited Taiwan. Justice Khosla has further stated that the Mayor's report, if available, would have been inadmissible in evidence, for it would be nothing more than the opinion of an individual.

14. Wind direction at Taihoku airport.

Shri Guha has referred to a statement by the Meteorological Officer at the Taihoku Airport to the effect that during this time, in the month of August, the wind blows from North to South. Since the air strip is from North to South and since a plane always takes off against the wind current, the plane would have gone from South to North. If there had been any accident at all, the accident could have been at the North end of the air strip. But each and every witness said that the air-crash took place at the South end of the airport near the Japanese Temple. I have not found any discussion in the Khosla Commission Report regarding the wind direction at Taihoku in August. However, it would hardly be



logical to disbelieve the entire crash story on the basis of a general statement regarding the direction of the wind at a particular time in a particular month. Even when an easterly wind is expected, it is not impossible for a westerly wind to blow. Similarly, when a north wind is expected, it is not impossible for a southerly wind to blow. Persons who were present in the plane which crashed have testified before the Khosla Commission about the crash and it would be highly illogical to disbelieve the entire testimony of all these witnesses merely on the basis of a general statement about the direction in which the wind generally blows around a particular time in a particular month of the year at a particular place.

15. Testimony that crash occurred in 1944.

Shri Guha has referred to the testimony of a student who said that the crash took place at that exact place in 1944 and not in 1945. Shri Guha has himself admitted that Justice Khosla did not accept the testimony and dismissed it as a figment of the imagination. Even if we agree that a crash took place in 1944, it cannot lead to an inference that another crash did not take place in 1945. In para 6.32 of his report Justice Khosla has referred to similar evidence which was sought to be adduced by Dr. S.N. Sinha. Dr. Sinha's evidence has been discussed at great length by Justice Khosla who came to the conclusion that Dr. Sinha has attempted to practise fraud upon the Commission. Justice Khosla has further stated that Dr. Sinha has acquired the travellers' proverbial propensity and readiness to tell lies.

16. Report by the CSDIC (Combined Services Detailed Intelligence Centre).

Shri Guha has referred in his speech to the testimony of Shri B.C. Chakraborty of the CSDIC. The CSDIC was a global organisation of which Col. Stevenson was the local commander. Shri B.C. Chakraborty was a member of the Indian Police Force and was deputed to the War Department of the Government of India during World War II and was attached to the CSDIC. An inquiry was conducted by a team of officers of the CSDIC into the circumstances under which Netaji is supposed to have died. Shri B.C. Chakraborty, who appeared as a witness before the Khosla Commission, was the person who carried out a major part of the inquiry and prepared the final report. Shri Chakraborty stated in his testimony before the Commission that CSDIC report came to the conclusion that the testimony of Col. Habibur Rahman was untrue and constituted an attempt to provide a camouflage for the security and protection of Netaji. From paras 5.45 to 5.58 of the Khosla Commission Report it would appear that while Shri Chakraborty was testifying before the Khosla Commission, the CSDIC report



was not before the Khosla Commission and this led Shri Chakraborty to make absolutely false statements without fear of contradiction. But the CSDIS report was subsequently made available to the Commission and disproved in every material particularly the oral testimony which Shri Chakraborty gave before the Commission. Justice Khosla has concluded that Shri Chakraborty's statement appears to have been made in the hope that the file would not be forthcoming.

17. Passenger list of the plane.

Shri Guha has stated that Justice Khosla has relied on the evidence of 4 witnesses who claimed to have travelled in the same plane as Netaji. However, since there is no documentary evidence to prove that these witnesses actually travelled in the plane with Netaji, their testimony is not reliable. This aspect of the matter has been specifically dealt with by Justice Khosla in paras 4.40 & 4.85 to 4.89 of the report. Justice Khosla has mentioned that the papers in the plane must have perished in the fire, because the front portion of the plane where they would normally be carried was completely destroyed. Justice Khosla has further stated that any flight papers at the army headquarters in Datar or Saigon must have been lost or destroyed because they were not required by any authority. There is also no evidence that there was at any time, in existence, any flight papers relating to the flight of the Bomber which left Saigon with Netaji and Habibur Rahman on August 17, 1945. It is only conjecture that such papers must have been prepared.

18. Contradictions in the testimony of different witnesses.

Shri Guha has stated that the testimony of all the witnesses is full of discrepancies and contradictions. He has cited several instances. He has referred to the type of plane, the place from which the plane came, the arrival at Touraine, the place where Netaji stayed at Touraine, the actual cause of the crash, etc. Justice Khosla was fully aware of certain discrepancies in the testimonies of different witnesses as will appear from para 4.50 (iii). The matter was argued strenuously before the Khosla Commission. Justice Khosla has discussed these arguments in paras 4.60 to 4.65 and come to the conclusion that the discrepancies to which his attention had been drawn do not falsify the story of the crash. These discrepancies are due to the passage of time and the memory of witnesses becoming somewhat vague regarding matters of detail.



19. Testimony of Shri Jagdish Kodesia.

Shri Guha has alleged that Shri Jagdish Kodesia, who was at one time President of the Delhi Congress, testified before the Khosla Commission that in 1961 when he went to Dalat, a place near Saigon, the Bishop of Dalat told him that on the day of the reported plane crash and also on the day on which the death was announced, Netaji was with the Bishop of Dalat. I do not think any notice need be taken of the testimony of Shri Kodesia. Chapter III of the report of the Khosla Commission, running into no fewer than 43 paragraphs, discusses in elaborate detail the testimony of many witnesses (their number is legion) who claimed to have met or talked to Bose at various times and places after August 18, 1945. Justice Khosla has not found any substance in any one of these stories.

20. Inquiry into the plane crash by the Japanese authorities.

Shri Guha has referred to the fact that General Isamaye, Chief of the Japanese Formosan army told the Shah Nawaz Committee that he had asked General Ando, his second in command to hold an inquiry into the plane crash. Even then no inquiry was made. From this, Shri Guha has drawn the inference that there was no plane crash. In paras 4.86 & 4.90 of his report Justice Khosla has stated that the absence of an inquiry by the Japanese cannot lead to the inference that the crash story is false. In the chaotic conditions prevailing at that time, when the Japanese were hurrying to get out of Formosa when the American forces were expected to arrive at any moment and occupy the island, no inquiry could have been held or even contemplated.

21. Inquiries by Japanese non-official agencies.

Shri Guha has referred to an inquiry conducted some years after the crash by a Japanese non-official agency. Shri Guha has stated that a copy of the report was published in "Beacon cross Asia". It was stated in the report that a number of leading aeronautical experts from Japan with full knowledge and experience of flying and maintenance of combat planes conducted an inquiry and did not believe the crash story. I have not been able to locate the publication referred to by Shri Guha nor do I find any mention of it in the Khosla Commission Report. However, in view of the observations of Justice Khosla regarding the alleged inquiry report of the Mayor of Taipei, even if the report in Beacon Cross Asia is made available, it will not be considered to be anything but an opinion and cannot have any probative value.



22. Selective death of persons in the plane.

Shri Guha has stated that it is strange that there was a selective survival and selective death and all those persons who had to die had died and all those who had to survive survived. This has again been discussed by Justice Khosla in para 4.50(V) and in para 4.83 of his report. He has stated that the facts do not support the submission that all passengers destined for Manchuria died and the only survivors were persons who were not to go to Manchuria.

23. Lack of honours to Netaji.

Shri Guha has referred to the fact that no military honours were accorded to Bose at his funeral. He was held in high esteem by the Japanese and it is inconceivable that the Japanese would have allowed his dead body to be cremated without the usual military honours. From this Shri Guha has tried to draw the inference that Bose did not die at all. This has again been discussed by Justice Khosla in para 4.84 of his report. He has referred to the post-war and post surrender conditions prevailing in territory occupied by the Americans and complete democratisation of the Japanese war machine. After August 15, the emphasis was not at all on the observation of protocol and proprieties but on promptness in carrying out whatever tasks could be performed before the allied forces clamped down a total ban on all Japanese movements.

24. Cremation of Netaji and death certificate of Okaraichiro.

Shri Guha has referred to the cremation permit and a death certificate in respect of one Okara Ichiro. The argument is that this cremation permit and death certificate are alleged to be in respect of Netaji, but since the details in the permit and certificate do not correspond to Netaji, Netaji could not possibly have died. Justice Khosla has referred to this aspect of the matter in paras 4.93 to 4.99 of his report and has come to the conclusion that these two documents have no evidentiary value at all and neither of them proves or disproves anything. The argument advanced by Shri Guha is in the nature of a non-sequitur, for what does not relate to an event cannot be used to disprove it. It is tantamount to raising a phantom and then destroying it.

25. Photographs of Netaji's body and the testimony of Rahman.

Shri Guha has referred to the photographs which were taken at the time of the crash and afterwards. He has tried to make much of the fact that there is no



photograph showing the face of Netaji. This aspect of the matter has again been discussed in para 4.84 of Justice Khosla's report. He has concluded that some photographs were probably taken and these were produced by Col. Rahman but since Col. Rahman has not been examined as a witness and there is no evidence to prove the genuineness of the photographs, he would not rely on them. He treated the photographs as documents which had not been proved. This does not mean that he declared the documents to be false and, therefore, contradictory of the story of the crash. Since it was not known who took the photographs, to whom they were handed over and through which agency they received publicity they could not be used in evidence. In any event, there was no point in taking a photograph of Bose's face because he had sustained such extensive burns that his face was unrecognisable though in the form of his body resemblance remained to make identification possible.

26. Netaji's watch.

Finally Shri Guha has referred to the watch which Netaji was wearing at the crash. Shri Guha has alleged that the watch which was produced before the Commission is rectangular in shape whereas Netaji never wore a rectangular watch. Shri Guha has also referred to the fact that the watch showed the time as 2-35. This again has been discussed by Justice Khosla in paras 4.103 to para 4.106 of his report. The fact which emerges is that the watch was handed over by Col. Rahman to Pandit Nehru who in turn handed it over to Shri Amia Bose. Shri Amia Bose who was questioned at great length by the Commission was inclined to believe the story attributed to Habibur Rahman and to accept the fact that the watch did in fact belong to Subhas Bose. The father of Sarat Chandra Bose also did not doubt the story. Regarding the timing shown on the watch, Justice Khosla has stated that he personally tested and found the hands of the watch could be easily manipulated. Consequently, the timing shown on the watch cannot lead to any inference about the time when the crash took place.



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CABINET SECRETARIAT (MANTRIMANDAL SACHIVALAYA)

New Delhi, 19 November, 1977  
28 Kartika, 1899(S).

The following will constitute additional items on the agenda for the Cabinet meeting to be held at 6-05 P.M. on Monday, 21 November 1977, in the Cabinet Room (No. 9), Parliament House:

S U B J E C T S

- ✓ 7. Motion in the Lok Sabha by Shri Samar Guha for a fresh inquiry into the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Minister of Home Affairs  
(Paper dt. 17-11-1977, attached)
8. Compensation payable to the Coal Companies which were nationalised. Minister of Energy  
(Paper dt. 18-11-1977, attached)
9. Amendments to the Coking Coal Mines (Nationalisation) Act, 1972 and the Coal Mines (Nationalisation) Act, 1973. ( -do- )  
(Paper dt. 18-11-1977, attached)

(K. Ramiah)  
for Cabinet Secretary.

To

All Members of the Cabinet.

Copy, with enclosures, forwarded to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, with the request to attend the meeting:

Copy, with enclosures, forwarded for information to:-

Secretary to the President.  
Secretary to the Vice-President.

(K. Ramiah)  
Under Secretary to the Cabinet.

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(K. Ramiah)

Under Secretary to the Cabinet.

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Finance Secretary.

Secretary, Department of Legal Affairs ((Items 8 & 9)

Secretary, Legislative Department.

Secretary, Department of Company Affairs.

*K. Ramiah*  
(K. Ramiah)

Under Secretary to the Cabinet.

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अति तत्काल

प्रति सं०—39

सं० 56/सीएम/77 (1)

भारत सरकार

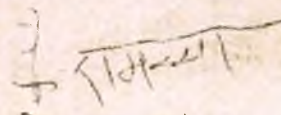
मंत्रिमंडल सचिवालय

नई दिल्ली, 19 नवंबर, 1977  
28 कार्तिक, 1899

सोमवार, 21 नवंबर, 1977 को सायं 6-05 बजे, मंत्रिमंडल का (नं० 9), संसद भवन में होने वाली मंत्रिमंडल की बैठक की कार्यसूची में निम्नलिखित अतिरिक्त मदें सम्मिलित होंगी:-

विषय

7. नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के गायक हो जाने के संबंध में गृह मंत्री  
नई जांच के लिए श्री समर गुहा का लोक सभा में प्रस्ताव ।  
(17-11-77 का प्रलेख)
8. राष्ट्रीयकृत कोयला कंपनियों की देय मुजावदा । उर्जा मंत्री  
(18-11-77 का प्रलेख)
9. कोयला कोयला जान (राष्ट्रीयकरण) अधिनियम, 1972 -रूपीपरि-  
और कोयला जान (राष्ट्रीयकरण) अधिनियम, 1973 में  
संशोधन ।  
(18-11-77 का प्रलेख)

  
(वि० रामभा)  
दूत मंत्रिमंडल सचिव

सेवा में,

मंत्रिमंडल के सभी सदस्य ।

---

प्रतिलिपि, संलग्नकों सहित, उपाध्यक्ष, योजना आयोग की बैठक में भाग लेने के  
अनुरोध सहित प्रेषित ।

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- - -2/-

देवेन्द्र  
42 प्रतियां

गुप्त



49  
गुप्त  
-2-

प्रतिलिपि, संलग्नकों सहित, निम्नलिखित को सूचनार्थ प्रेषित:-

राष्ट्रपति के सचिव

उप राष्ट्रपति के सचिव

के. रामैया  
(के० रामैया)

अवर सचिव, मंत्रिमंडल

प्रतिलिपि, समाद्वय प्रलेख/प्रलेखों सहित, निम्नलिखित को सूचनार्थ प्रेषित :-

सचिव, गृह मंत्रालय (मद 7)

सचिव, कोयला विभाग

वित्त सचिव

सचिव, विधि कार्य विभाग (मद 8 और 9)

सचिव, विधायी विभाग

सचिव, कम्पनी कार्य विभाग

के. रामैया  
(के० रामैया)

अवर सचिव, मंत्रिमंडल

गैशिय

- गुप्त -

42 प्रतियाँ



152  
(50)

S. No-3  
SECRET

IMMEDIATE

COPY NO. 58

No.56/GA/77  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (BHARAT SARAKAR)  
CABINET SECRETARIAT (MANTRIDAL SACHIVALAYA)

New Delhi, 26 November, 1977  
5 Agrahayana, 1399 (S)  
-----

The undersigned is directed to enclose herewith a copy of the minutes of the Cabinet meeting held on 21 November, 1977 (Case Nos. 329/56/77 to 337/56/77).

*Kamal Nain Singh*  
(Kamal Nain Singh)  
for Cabinet Secretary.

To  
All Members of the Cabinet.  
-----

Copy, with a copy of the minutes, forwarded to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.  
-----

Copy, with a copy of the minutes, forwarded for information to:-

Secretary to the President.  
Secretary to the Vice-President.

*Kamal Nain Singh*  
(Kamal Nain Singh)  
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet.  
-----

Copy, with a copy of the minutes, in respect of the Case(s) shown against each, forwarded to:-

Secretary, Legislative Department. ((Case Nos. 329/56/77,  
Secretary, Department of Legal Affairs. 330/56/77, 336/56/77  
and 337/56/77))

Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs ((Case Nos. 329/56/77,  
330/56/77 & 335/56/77))

Finance Secretary ((Case Nos. 329/56/77 to 332/56/77 and  
334/56/77, 336/56/77 and 337/56/77))

Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs ((Case Nos. 329/56/77, 331/56/77,  
332/56/77 and 334/56/77)).

Secretary, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare. ((Case Nos. 330/56/77 and  
332/56/77)).

\*CPK\*  
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Secretary, Department of Rehabilitation (Case No. 331/56/77)

Secretary, Department of Expenditure (Case Nos. 331/56/77  
and 332/56/77)

Secretary, Planning Commission (Case Nos. 331/56/77,  
332/56/77 & 334/56/77)

Secretary, Department of Irrigation (Case Nos. 331/56/77  
and 333/56/77)

Secretary, Department of Industrial Development (Case No. 332/56/77)

Secretary (East), Ministry of External Affairs.

Secretary, Department of Science and Technology. (Case No. 333/56/77)

Secretary, Department of Space.

Secretary, Ministry of Defence.

Secretary, Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation.

Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy. (Case No. 334/56/77)

Secretary, Department of Coal. (Case Nos. 336/56/77

Secretary, Department of Company Affairs. and 337/56/77)

*Kamal Nain Singh*  
(Kamal Nain Singh)

Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet.

\*OPK\*

37 Copies.



(52)

गुप्त

तत्काल 53  
प्रति सं०—

सं० 56/सीएम/77

भारत सरकार

मंत्रिमंडल सचिवालय

नई दिल्ली, 26 नवम्बर, 1977  
5 अग्रहायण, 1899

मुखे 21 नवम्बर, 1977 को हुई मंत्रिमंडल की बैठक का कार्यवृत्त परिचालित करने का निर्देश हुआ है।

के. सिंह

(कमल नैन सिंह)

वृत्त मंत्रिमंडल सचिव

सेवा में,

मंत्रिमंडल के सभी सदस्य।

---

प्रतिलिपि, कार्यवृत्त की प्रति सहित, उपाध्यक्ष, योजना आयोग को प्रेषित।

---

प्रतिलिपि, कार्यवृत्त की प्रति सहित, निम्नलिखित को सूचनार्थ प्रेषित:-

राष्ट्रपति के सचिव

उप राष्ट्रपति के सचिव

के. सिंह

(कमल नैन सिंह)

उप सचिव, मंत्रिमंडल

प्रतिलिपि, प्रत्येक के सामने लिखे केस/केसों से संबद्ध कार्यवृत्त की प्रति सहित निम्नलिखित को प्रेषित:-

सचिव, विधायी विभाग } (केस सं० 329/56/77, 330/56/77, 336/56/77,  
सचिव, विधि कार्य विभाग } और 337/56/77)

सचिव, गृह मंत्रालय } (केस सं० 329/56/77, 330/56/77 और 335/56/77)

वित्त सचिव } (केस सं० 329/56/77 से 332/56/77 और 334/56/77,  
336/56/77 और 337/56/77)

-----2/-

देवेन्द्र

61 प्रतियां

गुप्त



गुप्त

-2-

सचिव, आर्थिक कार्य विभाग (केस सं० 329/56/77, 331/56/77,  
332/56/77 और 334/56/77)

सचिव, स्वास्थ्य और परिवार कल्याण मंत्रालय (केस सं० 330/56/77 और  
332/56/77)

सचिव, पुनर्वासि विभाग (केस सं० 331/56/77)

सचिव, व्यय विभाग (केस सं० 331/56/77 और 332/56/77)

सचिव, योजना आयोग (केस सं० 331/56/77, 332/56/77 और 334/56/77)

सचिव, सिंचाई विभाग (केस सं० 331/56/77 और 333/56/77)

सचिव, औद्योगिक विकास विभाग (केस सं० 332/56/77)

सचिव(पूर्व), विदेश मंत्रालय

सचिव, विज्ञान और प्रौद्योगिकी विभाग

सचिव, अंतरिक्ष विभाग

सचिव, रक्षा मंत्रालय

सचिव, पर्यटन और नागर विमानन मंत्रालय

सचिव, परमाणु ऊर्जा विभाग (केस सं० 334/56/77)

सचिव, कोयला विभाग

सचिव, कम्पनी कार्य विभाग (केस सं० 336/56/77 और 337/56/77)

के. सिंह

(कमल नैन सिंह)

उप सचिव, मंत्रिमंडल



SECRET

COPY NO. 1

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF THE MEETING  
OF THE CABINET HELD AT 6-05 P.M. ON  
MONDAY, 21 NOVEMBER, 1977.

Case No. 335/56/77

Item 7

Motion in the Lok Sabha by Shri Samar  
Guha for a fresh inquiry into the  
disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

....

The Cabinet considered the note dated 17.11.1977 from the Ministry of Home Affairs (Grih Mantralaya) and approved the proposals contained in para 8 thereof.

*Mh. 1-45  
cm.*

*No action*

\*SCB\*  
5 copies.

SECRET



कैस सं० 335/56/77

मद-7

नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस के भाव्य हो जाने के संबंध में  
नई जंजिर के लिए श्री समर गुहा का लोक सभा में प्रस्ताव ।

मंत्रिमंडल ने गृह मंत्रालय के 17 नवम्बर, 1977 के नोट पर विचार किया और  
उसके पैरा 8 में उल्लिखित प्रस्तावों को स्वीकृति प्रदान की ।

देवेन्द्र  
प्रतिया

गुप्ता